Freedom

VOL. XXXV.—No. 387. SEPTEMBER, 1921. MONTHLY: TWO PENCE.

NOTES.

Foreign Trade Cut in Half.

Last month we commented on the tremendous falling off in our foreign trade, and the figures for August just published show no signs of a revival. Last month's exports were valued at £51,346,307, which compared with £114,903,335 for August last year show a decrease of £63,557,028. The greatest decrease was in cotton goods, which showed a drop of nearly £25,000,000 for the month. Surely these figures are sufficient to show that there is little hope for the unemployed who rely on a revival of trade to get back to work again. We have previously emphasised this collapse in foreign trade, as we wish to bring home to the workers the fact that this is not a temporary depression but that for a long time to come there will be no jobs for many thousands of them, and that if they wish to live a life worthy of human beings they must at once start thinking out the problem for themselves. The Government will do nothing for them except dole out a few shillings a week, most of which goes to the landlord. The Trade Union leaders at the recent Congress had no plans worthy of the subject, but simply demanded that the Government should do something; and now the Cabinet Committee on Unemployment is passing the problem on to the local authorities. Such temporary expedients as road-making are useless, as only a comparatively few can be employed. There is only one solution for these starving men, and that is for them to get hold of some land and cultivate it, with assistance from their fellows until their crops are harvested. That solution, however, is too radical for a Government which is still dominated by the landed class. Even the Labour Party fights shy of the land question. But there is no other solution. For generations we have sent manufactured goods abroad in exchange for food. Now that there is no demand for these goods, we must grow our food at home. This is so simple that very few people can be got to see it.

Land for Deer if not for Food.

When we come to study the land question we find ourselves back in the feudal ages. A few men monopolise great areas in industrial districts, and with the wealth they steal from the working community they make pleasure grounds for themselves in other parts of the country. A writer in the *Spectator* some years ago said that this country was rapidly becoming a seaside resort for the rich folk of both hemispheres. Well, Scotland looks like becoming a mere deer forest for these rich folk. In a Government report just issued, Mr. James Scott in a minority report states that "about one-fifth of the whole area of Scotland, or from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 acres, are devoted exclusively to deer forests." At least nine of these deer forests are over 40,000 acres each in extent, and another of them at one time covered 200,000 acres, stretching across Scotland from sea to sea. Besides these there are the great moors reserved for grouse, some of them within a few miles of the great and crowded city of Glasgow, whose citizens dare not put a foot on them for fear of being prosecuted. And the wretched unemployed of the great cities of the North tramp the streets for a job whilst the lordly deer roam the hills and glens where food has been and could be produced in abundance. Whilst these Scotch folk have extended the borders of the British Empire their masters enclosed their native land for deer forests. Verily "the eyes of the fool are in the ends of the earth."

Poplar Councillors' Revolt.

In FREEDOM for December, 1919, writing of the striking victories of the Labour candidates at the municipal elections in the previous month, and of the hopes of drastic changes Labour would make in municipal life, we said:—"The workers are doomed to disappointment. Municipal bodies are tied down strictly by Acts of Parliament, and cannot build a new house or spend an extra pound on educating or feeding children unless permitted by legislation. The Ministry of Health and the Local Government Board have the power to smash any schemes which Labour may bring forward, unless capitalist interests are safeguarded." This is now proved up to the hilt by the imprisonment of the Poplar Councillors for refusing to levy rates to cover their local expenditure. It is impossible for the workers to escape from the toils of Capitalism by putting men and women in the seats of capitalist institutions. As soon as they refuse to carry out the regulations governing their office the heavy hand of the law comes down on them and claps them into prison. But the workers are still misled by the politicians who seek office. Year after year the helplessness of Labour men in Parliament and on municipal bodies is made plain to all who can see further than the end of their nose, yet year after year the workers are fooled by those who exploit their foolishness. Perhaps the lesson of Poplar will open their eyes at last and lead them to demand the complete abolition of the capitalist system, thus clearing the ground for a sweeter and saner society.

The Famine in Russia.

The horrors of war are now followed by the horrors of famine. Heartrending reports of the sufferings of the Russian peasants are appearing in the press of the world, and it is evident that nothing can save some millions of them from death by starvation. Labour, Socialist, and Anarchist papers are publishing urgent appeals to the workers of the world to give help to their Russian brethren, an appeal in which we also join; but everything shows that the capitalists and the counter-revolutionaries are doing all in their power to exploit the famine for their own damnable ends. To them it is nothing that millions of their fellow-creatures may die of starvation; that typhus and plague will tread in the footsteps of famine. Their only hope is that they may be able to utilise Russia's agony to overthrow the existing Government and put in its place one which would be a more pliable tool of Capitalism. The cruel blockade which prevented the importation of new rolling stock for the railways crippled the transport system to such an extent that it will be impossible to get food to many districts ere it is too late. The workers of all countries who allowed the blockade to exist should now insist on free relations being opened between Russia and the rest of the world. We do not wish to add to the number of funds now open for the receipt of subscriptions, but would urge all to contribute as freely as they can in the name of our common humanity. Russia has held out her hands to the world in vain during the past four years; let her do so no longer.

London or Rome?

In the Melbourne *Socialist* for May 20 last a correspondent (W. J. Miles) advocates a working agreement between the Australian Labour Party and the Roman Catholic Church, with the object of "freeing Australian conditions from the grip of the Imperial capitalists in London." The writer, who states that he is an atheist, says that Roman Catholicism in Australia stands for "Australia First" against the pernicious doctrine of "The Empire (or Britain) First," and the only other organised force capable of opposing the schemes of the British Federationists is the Australian Labour Party. So he wants to sink all sectarian quarrels and join forces against London. The Roman Catholic Church in Australia may object to being ruled by an outside power which resides in London, but it is itself ruled by Rome. The Australian Labour Party seeks power, and may find the Roman Catholic Church useful to that end; but the workers have nothing to gain by supporting the Roman Catholic or any other Church. The Churches have always supported slavery and exploitation in the past, and there is not the slightest hope of any change. Mr. Miles ought to know all this.

ANARCHISM VERSUS SOCIALISM.

By WM. C. OWEN.

A FOREWORD.

"Anarchy versus Socialism," which FREEDOM is about to reissue, after it has run through these columns, was published first some eighteen years ago. Emma Goldman was then one of the most popular lecturers in the United States, and, being questioned constantly as to the difference between the Anarchist and Socialist philosophies, felt the need of a treatise that would explain that difference. At her suggestion I undertook the task.

The title showed my conviction that between these two philosophies of life no honest alliance is possible. I considered then that both sides suffered seriously from the persistent efforts made to reconcile the incompatible; for thought grew more and more confused, and action degenerated into sterile opportunism. I think so more than ever now. As I see it, either you believe in the right of the Individual to govern himself, which is the basis of Anarchism, or you believe that he must be governed by others, which is the cornerstone of all those creeds which should be grouped generically as Socialism. One or the other must be the road to human progress. Both cannot be.

To me Man is manifestly destined to be master of himself and his surroundings, individually free. His capacity for achievement has shown itself practically boundless, whenever and wherever it has been permitted the opportunity of expansion; and no less an ideal than equal and unfettered opportunity—that is to say, individual freedom—should satisfy him. I accept Turgenev's saying that "human dignity is the goal of life," and consider all forms of slavery a refusal to recognise Man's dignity or native worth.

At this epoch-making moment men stand irresolute, distracted by opposing counsels. It would be, indeed, more accurate to say that for the most part they squat, as they have squatted for centuries untellable, distrustful of their own capacity to think correctly, and believing that the solution of life's problems is the proper business of a few wiser heads. So long as this self-distrust prevails, so long as the ordinary individual remains unconscious of his proper dignity as the great thinking animal, slavery, in my judgment, will continue. The first essential business, therefore, is to awaken thought; to get men to look at things as they are; to induce them to hunt for truth. Whatever is not true, whatever cannot stand the test of investigation, should die.

We are passing through a period of intense suffering, from which none of the so-called civilised countries is exempt. As I see things, however, it is not by any iron law of Nature that millions to-day are starving. It is not because the earth is niggardly, or because industrial development is backward, that grinding poverty, with all the mental and spiritual degradation grinding poverty entails, is still the almost universal lot. Poverty exists because, even to-day, the masses regard themselves as doomed to helplessness, and are well satisfied if some outside power gives them a chance to make a living. Yet Man is not naturally helpless. By his inventive genius he has now conquered his environment, and want and the fear of want are to-day unnatural and artificial ills.

Thus, as I understand it, do Anarchists regard the social problem, and here our quarrel with the Socialists comes immediately into full view. To us the problem is not merely economic. We do not think that a certain stage of industrial development must be reached before men are ripe for freedom. Still less do we believe in the fatalistic dogma that by the necessary evolution of the present system the problem will solve itself. We hold that man is servile because he has been drilled into servility, and remains helpless because he accepts his helplessness as unalterable. To us, therefore, the promotion of individuality, and the encouragement of the spirit of revolt against whatever institutions may be unworthy of humanity, are everything. We are rebels against slavery, and we understand that men will win their way to freedom only when they yearn to be free.

For my part, I take the sombre view that Freedom's great struggle has yet to come. I see the masses caught in a net woven so cunningly that they do not sense their danger; trapped by the mechanism of a system they cannot understand; divorced from the control of their own lives by forces as impalpable as are the fancied deities before whom the Savage grovels. The Man of the People is thrown on the street to-day because the law of demand and supply ordains it, because the exchanges are topsy-turvy, because certain of his economic rulers calculate that they can make money by restricting production. He is the mere plaything of the speculator, and if he ventures to protest Government claps him into gaol as a disturber of the peace or hangs him as a rebel. That means unceasing discontent and, ultimately, Civil War. It is utterly unhealthy and unstable. It cannot last.

Back of all this infamy stands always the Government machine; dead to all human sympathy, as are all machines; bent only on increasing its efficiency as a machine, and enlarging its power; organised expressly to keep things, in all essentials, precisely as they are. It is the arch-type of immobility, and, therefore, the foe of growth. It is the quintessence of compulsion, and, therefore, the enemy of freedom. To it the individual is a subject, of whom it demands unquestioning obedience. Necessarily we Anarchists are opposed to it. We do not dream, as do the Socialists, of making it the one great Monopolist, and therefore the sole arbiter of life. On the contrary, we seek to whittle away its powers, that it may be reduced to nothingness and be succeeded by a society of free individuals, equipped with equal opportunities and arranging their own affairs by mutual agreement.

The Anarchist type of social structure is the industrial type, and for it the true industrialist, the working man, should stand. On the other hand, he who cries for more Government is declaring himself an advocate of the military type, wherein society is graded into classes and all life's business conducted by inferiors obeying orders issued by the superior command. That offers the worker only permanent inferiority and enslavement, and against that he should revolt. Man is, by the very essence of his being and by the quality of his natural gifts, too fine to be treated as an inferior. He is meant to be a co-operator, uniting with his fellow-creatures on a basis of equality and clothed, as a member of the human race, with equal rights. This is his proper due, and I am very positive that nothing less than this can bring us social peace. Here no compromise is possible, and if established institutions bar the way, Man owes it to his own dignity to abolish or model and remodel them, until they are brought into harmony with this fundamental law of life.

Obviously this line of thought carries us far, and I desire to point out that it involves the whole future of our race. In our opinion, the man who thinks of himself as inferior, and is content to be classed as such, thereby becomes inferior; and it is by inferiority that civilisations are wrecked. By the Barbarian within their own gates they are destroyed, and the barbarism fatal to them is not the violence of the rebel but the growing inertia and cowardice of the ordinary citizen, who accepts life on the lower level because he lacks the energy and courage to accept personal responsibility and to lead the higher life personal responsibility demands. Thus the whole tone of the community's life is lowered; its vitality ebbs more and more; decay sets in and death ensues.

We Anarchists are fully conscious of this appalling and completely established historical fact; and we hate the State because it deprives men of personal responsibility, robs them of their natural virility, takes out of their hands the conduct of their own lives, thereby reduces them to helplessness, and thus insures the final collapse of the whole social structure. The last seven years have shown conclusively that we are right.

"FREEDOM" DINNER AT STELTON, N.J.

FREEDOM gave the local comrades an opportunity to shake themselves from that mental torpor resulting from the perplexing questions of war and Bolshevism. If the gathering at the Ferrer Colony at Stelton on July 13 is any criterion, then surely FREEDOM's philosophy is steadfast, for the result was gratifying. The Auditorium of the Modern School was crowded, and the proceedings were started off by a sumptuous "English High Tea" organised by Jimmy Dick with the very valuable assistance of other comrades.

Owing to the regrettable absence of Joseph Cohen (manager of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*), George Zeldes conducted the gathering, introducing the programme with remarks eulogising the management and message of FREEDOM. Our old comrade Harry Kelly indulged in reminiscences, which we print below. His short address was followed by a programme prepared by comrades and sympathisers, one of the best ever given here by local talent and a considerably better one than has often been given by imported professionals. It was as follows: German folk dance, Gerda Kock, Anna Kock, and Nell Amter; recitation of original poem, Mary Hansen; song recital, Jean Leventhal; original poems, Jake Robbins; interpretative dances, Heloise Hansen; Russian folk dances and songs by the Russian Chorus.

Jimmy Dick referred to the struggles and aspirations of FREEDOM during the war, when the old printing machine had to be revived to print the paper. Its attitude on the war caused a split among its adherents, and again it had to struggle for its life. Eventually the office was ransacked by the police, the machine dismantled, and Tom Keell and Lilian Wolfe sent to prison for three and two months respectively.

The spirit of the occasion was splendid in every way. Not only did every friend on the colony attend and tax himself a dollar for the dinner, but the bulk of the provisions was provided by contribution, reducing the expenses to a very small amount. George Zeldes closed the programme by thanking friends who had volunteered assistance and supplies, and also our comrade Moisha Freeman, whose energetic efforts contributed to the disposal of all the tickets. Income from sale of tickets, $144 00; expenditure, $26,00; remitted to FREEDOM, $118.00 (exchange value, £29 10s.).

HARRY KELLY'S REMINISCENCES OF "FREEDOM."

In a week or two a little play called "The People," by Susan Glaspell, will be given here, in which the struggles, disappointments, and re-inspiration of the editor of a revolutionary paper will be shown. It is an experience common to those who are connected with revolutionary papers and represents pretty accurately that of the editors of FREEDOM, for the benefit of which we are assembled here to-night.

The paper was started originally by Kropotkin and a very talented Englishwoman, Mrs. Charlotte Wilson, who edited it for four or five years, I believe, when ill-health caused her to retire and the paper was suspended for a few months. Later on it was revived under the editorship of Alfred Marsh, backed by a group consisting of Kropotkin, Tcherkesoff, Tchaikovsky, John Turner, M. Nettlau, and Tom Cantwell. Upon my return to London in 1898, the active ones in the group included Miss A. Davies, a brilliant Irish-Welsh woman. Kropotkin was a regular and frequent contributor, but seldom came to the group meetings. Marsh was editor, Turner publisher, and Cantwell printer. The office, then as now, was situated at 127 Ossulston Street, near Kings Cross; the building had two rooms, one upstairs for the composing room, and one downstairs, the press room. The old press was of what we call here the "Oscillator" type, and its vintage at that time was some 75 or 80 years. Here each month gathered Marsh, the musician; Turner, the Trade Union organiser; Tcherkesoff, the literary man; Nettlau, the philologist; Tchaikovsky, Miss Davies, Mary Krimont, and myself, or at least some of us at one time and the rest of us at another, with, of course, Cantwell, to print the paper. The press had neither power nor automatic sheet delivery, so it required three of us to operate it. Two or three of the men alternated in turning the crank, I fed the press, and Miss Davies, wearing always black gloves, hat and veil, took the sheets off as they were printed. Sometimes when the men grew tired or short of wind, a navvy was stopped in the street and hired to turn the crank, and we soothed our consciences by paying him ninepence an hour instead of the dockers' "tanner" (sixpence). Mary's job was to prepare tea for us. It was under such conditions as these that the paper was printed, and it was there that many of Kropotkin's best theoretical articles on Anarchism appeared; and in those pages appeared Tcherkesoff's "Pages of Socialist History," pointing out the fallacy of Marx's theory of the concentration of capital.

I don't know how many of you have ever been connected with a paper. It is like a baby, and each issue carries with it the responsibilities and joys of a new-born child. After a struggle it comes forth a finished article, and like a winged messenger goes forth to fill with discontent or inspiration people far away whom one may never see.

There came the first break in our ranks when Cantwell became ill. Some years before, at the opening of the famous Tower Bridge, he, with a comrade named Quinn, had protested against the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII., opening the bridge, and he had received and served with Quinn six months' hard labour. Cantwell never recovered from this imprisonment, and one day in December, 1902, when Tcherkesoff visited the office he found him lying with his head in the ashes of the fireplace, all but dead. He recovered and lived several years afterwards, but was never able to work and was never again the same man. I supposed at the time it would be impossible to find another man in the whole of London to fill Cantwell's place, and yet, strange to say, when the occasion demanded it, the man was there in Thomas Keell, the present editor and printer. Keell was the printer at first, and later on was associated with Marsh in editing the paper, and finally when the latter fell ill in 1913 he took on the editorship, which he still retains.

I regret keenly my inability to send Keell a flashlight photograph of this bright and cheerful assembly of 138 in our own building doing honour to FREEDOM here, three thousand miles away. I have not always agreed with the paper or with Keell, but if anything happened to it it would leave a void in my life, and when Keell wrote me about it and its debts I could not rest. Now, on behalf of those who have crossed the divide and of those who are still connected with the paper, I welcome you and thank you for coming here to night.

(Continued from previous page.)

By no possibility could the hideous slaughter of the War have taken place had not the towering Governments, which had been permitted to take all power into their clutches, previously reduced the mass to helplessness. There it still is held, and its State-created helplessness is still its most pitiful undoing.

These were the thoughts that occupied my mind when I was writing this pamphlet, eighteen years ago. Later experiences have strengthened the convictions I then tried to express. I see no reason, therefore, for changing in one iota the general structure of the pamphlet; but in certain places I have substituted illustrations which seem to me more up to-date. I still say to every human being: "Your first and most important business is to be master of your own life." I need hardly add that, in my opinion, Anarchism is at once the most destructive and constructive of philosophies; the uncompromising foe of the Barbarism now triumphant, and the architect of the Civilisation still struggling to be born.

(To be continued.)

AN APPEAL FROM GERMANY.

DEAR COMRADES OF "FREEDOM,"—The undersigned Anarchist League sends to its comrades in Great Britain the following appeal. During the last rising of the Communist Party in Middle Germany in the month of March, 1921, the political police of Frankfort-on-Main arrested seven of our best Anarchist comrades, charging them with arson and high treason, saying that they were the persons who set fire to the Opera House of this town. Four of our comrades are married. We and our Anarchist and Syndicalist comrades have assisted them up till now, but our finances are exhausted. We therefore ask our comrades in Great Britain to raise a subscription for the assistance of our imprisoned comrades. Across the borders of all countries long live the solidarity and brotherhood of our ideal, Anarchy!—We are yours fraternally,

ANARCHISTISCHE VEREINIGUNG, Frankfurt a. M.
THEODORE LOOSER, JOHANN KNECHT.

All correspondence to Johann Knecht, Steingasse 15, Frankfort a. M., Germany.

[We will be pleased to receive and forward any money sent us in response to this appeal.—ED. FREEDOM.]

Only in one of two ways can there be made a Revolution that is irrevocable. The first is to bring about a change in the moral, or religious, domain. The second is to bring about a change in the material domain, in property. Revolutions that combine these two essentials are sure to live. The first method is far more certain than the second. Revolutions that do not incorporate either the one or the other are written on sand. The first flood sweeps them out of existence.—*Edgar Quinet* ("La Révolution," Paris, 1865).

Authority intoxicates,
And makes mere sots of magistrates;
The fumes of it invade the brain,
And make men giddy, proud, and vain;
By this, the fool commands the wise,
The noble with the base complies,
The sot assumes the rule of wit,
And cowards make the brave submit.
—*Samuel Butler.*

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All communications, exchanges, etc., to be addressed to

Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston St., London, N.W.1.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

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IS IT A CRISIS?

No; it is not a crisis. It is not a sharp corner which, sooner or later, we shall turn. We have started on the toboggan and we shall go on sliding. We have allowed ourselves to be caught in the coils of a grossly unnatural development, and those coils, unless we throw them off, will strangle us. For my own part I am quite prepared to say that this is the fault of universal ignorance and thoughtlessness, but the placing of the blame does not concern me. The fact itself is so colossal as to be all-absorbing.

We have to be realists and face the world with facts. We have to make it understood that man's existence on this planet is held on certain terms which must be kept. In all its main tenets Anarchism, as I see it, is merely the logical summing-up of modern science; of knowledge that has got its head out of the clouds and is standing solidly on established truths. When we stick to those we are strong and, ultimately, invincible. When we wander off into side issues, and lose ourselves in metaphysical subtleties, our strength departs. Only from the commanding position of the undeniable should we attack.

Man is obviously a land animal. None dare deny it. No one has ever been able to show how life can be sustained otherwise than by applying labour to natural resources. No one has ever been able to calculate how great, how enormous, would be the productive capacity of Labour if only it could apply itself freely to those resources. Clearly, therefore, the land question is fundamental. We must accept it, frankly and unreservedly, as such. We must not side-step it, as do the Socialists and Trade Unionists; and we must not drug ourselves with the delusion that it is possible, by any artificial measures, to make amends to the individual who is robbed of his primary, his most necessary, his inalienable right. Our opposition to Governments should be based on the fact that it is they who rob him of that right, and uphold the robbery by the terrorism of their governing machines. It is they who, stripping the individual of his self-supporting capacity, reduce him to helplessness and thereby deliver him, bound hand and foot, to the exploiter.

In the entire category of crime there is none so inhuman, so unnatural and so devastating as this. It is at the root of all wars, of all class struggles and bloody revolutions, of all the social evils now tearing us to pieces. All Governments are guilty of this crime, and if the British Government is the greatest sinner it is only because our Empire is the most extensive. Wherever our flag flies our land laws go; and, reduced to their simplest expression, they come to this: "Pay for the privilege of being allowed to live."

Inevitably, since life must be maintained, the masses pay; and the result is the greatest, the subtlest, the farthest-reaching and the most enslaving system of robbery yet invented. All our so-called civilisation is now floundering in this net and caught in this machine. Under this system all real independence is smothered; for the individual, deprived of the one essential to self-support, can be no longer his own master.

In our dependencies the first object of our moneyed class is always to deprive the native of his land. Then he is helpless and at the mercy of his alien employer. Here, at home, the process is still simpler. Here the masses were stripped, centuries ago, of all opportunity of self-support, and their existence thenceforth hung on working for masters, who employed them in exploiting the commerce of the world. That phase of social development is passing. Science and War between them have smashed, beyond all hope of recovery, the great trading machine we once commanded and destroyed the monopoly we enjoyed so long. The world is no longer in its infancy. It is no longer content to be dependent on us economically, politically, or in any other way.

Recently a well-known politician concluded his review of the unemployed problem with these words: "In short, we must sell more goods or starve." That represents the position of our ruling class, and unfortunately that of too many of the workers and their leaders. They are content that their whole existence shall depend on their most questionable ability to produce cheaper than their rivals and retain command of markets either no longer open to us or non-existent. Meanwhile they try to meet what they consider a temporary crisis by measures that can only make their slavery more slavish and their security more insecure. They multiply taxes, which they, the creators of all values, necessarily—though that fact is concealed from them carefully—have to pay. They create a vast bureaucratic machinery, run by unproductive parasites, whom their toil must support. They stand by a system becoming rapidly unworkable, and do everything to throw it more completely out of gear. In none of these things is there a particle of sense.

It is true, as Tolstoy said, that the rich will do everything for the poor except the one thing needed—get off their backs. It is true, as Henry George taught, that you cannot have one-fifth of Scotland turned into a deer forest, or a Duke of Westminster monopolising 400 acres in the heart of London, without condemning Scotsmen and Englishmen to helpless slavery. It is true, as the Anarchists declare, that only by the recapture of life's natural rights can security and happiness be won.

W. C. O.

MOSCOW ON ANARCHISM.

Two International Congresses, the one Syndicalist and the other Communist, were held recently in Moscow. While they were in session the Bolshevik Government issued, in several languages, a paper entitled *Moscow*. It was the Government's official organ. *Le Libertaire*, of September 2, reproduces one of the articles that appeared in the French edition. In a brief introduction it explains that it does so because Anarchists the world over should understand how the Bolshevik Government regards them.

For our part we agree with *Le Libertaire* that the article is a monument of stupidity. The point to be remembered, however, is that our comrades are rotting in gaol, are persecuted and are calumniated, because they have struggled to free Syndicalism from the yoke of political dictatorship; because they are not willing that the Russian Revolution should sink into despotism as, under the strangling of Jacobinism, the French Revolution sank. Great, and perhaps irreparable, has been the damage already wrought.

The article in question is a long one, and we find our space too limited for the full translation we originally made. The gist of it is as follows:

The demand made at the Congress by the Anarchist-Syndicalist Delegation for the release of Anarchist prisoners is an "astonishing demand." They were plotting against the Proletarian Republic. The Anarchists are furnishing Makhno and his bands with all their watchwords, their cry being "Down with all Governments, which steal from the peasants, rich and poor alike!" The Soviet Government, says the article, is taking from the peasants for the public good.

Following this come long arguments from Plekhanoff to show that Anarchist philosophy is responsible for propaganda by deed, and that it is essentially a petit-bourgeois philosophy. The late Daniel de Leon is quoted approvingly as having said: "Scratch an Anarchist and you will find a reformer. Scratch a reformer and you will find an Anarchist." Real salvation lies only in the Communist Party, "which takes the direction of the masses, understands the ultimate interests of the proletariat, and, therefore, can guide them in their struggle."

Wretched stuff; malignant, illogical, pedantic and confused. We have done our readers a good turn by putting our translation in the waste-paper basket. That the so-called Soviet Government should publish officially such a screed gives us some idea of its capacity!

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Italy.

The tide of reaction evidently is running strong. We read of repeated outrages committed by the Fascisti, of their being occasionally arrested, and of their being speedily released, sometimes with apologies. Communists figure largely among their victims, and from time to time put up a fight. The orthodox Socialist Party, now that the more rebellious Communists are out of it, is sinking more and more deeply into the slough of Parliamentary opportunisms. In Italy also the wages of the coal miners are being attacked, the proposal being to cut them down from 16 to 28 per cent. *Umanita Nova's* correspondent writes concerning this: "Inasmuch as, in the very first skirmish, the miners of Boccheggiano, Ribolla, Gavorrano, Ravi, and Massa Marittima bent the back, we shall have to meet fresh blows and fresh reductions. And this is due, in great part, to the men's own leaders, who have always taught the workers that the great struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat was one of gradual conquest, of investing the leaders themselves with public power—for their own emancipation."

Both *Umanita Nova* and *Il Risveglio* report that the Socialists were never so bitter in their attacks on Anarchists as they are to-day, and attention is directed to the fact that *Avanti*, the Socialist Party's official organ, has just reissued Plekhanoff's notorious diatribe, in which he classifies us as being either deceived innocents or traitors, agents-provocateur and spies. However, Serrano, the noted Socialist leader, has been shown up as having borrowed twenty thousand lire from a Government agent. His defence is that he was taken in, as many other men have been.

Malatesta is again very active with his pen, chiefly in exposition of Anarchism's basic principles. In a remarkable article entitled "The Task of the Hour," contributed to *Umanita Nova*, he describes the revolutionary situation as he found it on his return to Italy. In his opinion, quick action was then the great need, and for this reason, the Anarchists being too weak numerically, he favoured the "Single Front." He explains his reasons, historical and philosophical, for having had little confidence in the revolutionary professions of the Socialists, but he thought that at this special crisis they would see things through. He miscalculated, and he says frankly that he should have known, alike from their different conception of what Revolution means, from the type of organisation they had adopted, and from the men selected as their leaders, that they would not stick. The Anarchists alone stood solidly for the "Single Front." He does not consider we were betrayed. In his view, a generous one, we deliberately deceived ourselves. For the rest, he considers that the present situation in Italy is tense, full of danger and full of hope. Propaganda, propaganda, propaganda, should be the watchword. Make Anarchists; organise them; plumb to their lowest depths the problems of to-day and to-morrow. Thus, when the situation calls for action our action will be prompt.

Switzerland.

The general situation sums itself up in the action taken by the Zurich group, which, since the time of Cavadini, has been persistently an energetic centre. It now finds itself swamped with refugees from Italy and issues a warning to those who fancy all will be well when once they reach Zurich or Geneva. On the contrary, even old residents cannot now get work. Furthermore, it is most desirable that those who throw themselves on the hospitality of Swiss comrades furnish proofs of who they are. The movement has been much victimised, and experience has taught it the necessity of being on the watch for police agents and spies.

In its recent congress, at Olten, the Swiss Radical Democratic Party treated the existing economic crisis as most alarming, and instructed the Party's leaders and its Parliamentary groups to work energetically for a fall in prices and reduction of the cost of production. It denounced in particular the grain monopoly, declared in favour of a more intensive cultivation of the soil, emphasised the necessity of increasing the capacity of Labour, and wound up with a suggestion that, for the time being, the eight-hour law should not be rigidly applied! A fine sample of Social-Democratic reforms, says *Il Risveglio.*

The paper just named comments forcibly on the death sentences passed recently on Sacco and Vanzetti, in the United States. This case has greatly stirred the Labour movement there, and more than one journal of established reputation, in no way connected with revolutionary propaganda, has protested vigorously against what it considers a grave miscarriage of justice. *Il Risveglio* contrasts the treatment accorded to these men, whose real crime is said to have been great activity in the Labour movement, with the honours paid to Alberto Alberio, chief of the Black Hand camorra in New York City, who was assassinated recently. Notoriously he had more than a score of murders to his account, but he died worth several million dollars. Our contemporary well remarks that "the history of the North-American Inquisition began with the Chicago tragedy of 1887." America's proletariat funked at that decisive moment, and Capitalism took instantly the coward's measure. He has been Capitalism's plaything ever since.

Malatesta's brochure, "Anarchy," published thirty years ago, is continued and concluded in *Le Reveil* of September 3. As the editor remarks, "unhappily it is still necessary to show that the very reason for Anarchism's existence lies in its struggle against dictatorship, in every shape and form." Much space is given, both in this paper and in *Il Risveglio* to starving Russia, a pitiful appeal for help being printed in full. "Unfortunately, however," runs the editorial comment, "in the past funds subscribed for public calamities have been almost invariably wasted or stolen, in the most criminal fashion." We should insist, therefore, on a clear understanding respecting the disbursement of all moneys collected, and on precise information as to the purchases, etc., required. The Federation of Syndicates, at a recent meeting in Geneva, decided to open subscription lists, and selected *Le Reveil* as the accounting medium. Comrades of all countries are urged to give any information in their possession that may lead to the best possible use of funds.

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS.

At a meeting of London comrades held on Sunday, August 28, it was agreed that a delegate be sent to the International Anarchist Congress which is to be held in Berlin about the end of December. A further meeting of comrades will be held on Sunday evening, September 18, at 6.30 sharp, at the "Workers' Friend" Club, 62 Fieldgate Street, Whitechapel (back of St. Mary's Station). Comrades and groups outside London, if unable to attend, are requested to send—

(1) Subjects for discussion at the meeting, with a statement of their own views thereon.
(2) Nominations for delegate.
(3) The amount of financial assistance they are willing to give towards the delegate's expenses.
(4) Suggestions for the agenda of the International Anarchist Congress.

We hope comrades will make an effort to attend, so that the meeting will be representative of the movement. If, however, attendance is not possible, please let us have an expression of opinion on the four items mentioned above.

Letters should be addressed to the Manager, Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W. 1, and should reach us not later than Friday, September 16.

Further particulars of the Congress will be published in FREEDOM as soon as they come to hand.

Russian Bolsheviks and Anarchists.

Our letter on this subject to the Editor of the *Workers' Dreadnought*, which we printed in FREEDOM last month, was published in that paper on August 20. Mr. Sara replied in the issue of the following week, saying he did not read FREEDOM, but that the forged statement he had in mind was "a sort of manifesto" which appeared in the *Times* on one occasion. In a letter published in the *Workers' Dreadnought* of September 3 we asked Mr. Sara whether the manifesto in the *Times* was signed by Emma Goldman, Berkman, and Shapiro, as he had stated previously; and we also asked him to give us the date of its publication. Up to the time of going to press we have received no reply. Sasha Kropotkin informs us that she has received a letter from Emma Goldman, in which our comrade refers to the letter to Lenin which we published, thus proving its authenticity.

A Few Questions about Anarchism.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.*)*

DEAR SIR,—A friend has handed me a copy of your paper, and I have been so far interested as to wish to subscribe for a time. I am habitually shy of committing myself as a disciple of any "ism." We want all the truth that we can get; and we want freedom in order the better to know the truth. I take note, therefore, that you call the paper FREEDOM, which I like. I am in the habit of thinking that, so far as we become civilised and humanised, we shall find Socialism and Anarchism coming out together as very much the same—the one, through the co-operative effort and spirit; the other, by the necessity of freedom. I like your healthy reaction against any form of dictatorship, whether in Russia under the assumed name of the proletariat, or in the United States in the more familiar name of "the majesty of the law." Arrogance seems to speak with the same voice, whatever robes of office it assumes.

I go heartily with you, I think, in the wish that the land and all the great natural sources of wealth shall be free from the bondage of private and corporate ownership. Neither do I desire laws made to secure the inheritance of great blocks of property. I hold that, so far as any group of people, large or small, make rules for themselves, these rules should simply embody the general or common will of the community; they should distinctly not be rules of conduct imposed by a majority upon an unwilling minority. That excellent group of people, the Friends, or Quakers, have a deal to teach the world about democracy. This is because their principles are the expression of friendly, humane respect and intelligent goodwill.

I am strongly also against the use of violence. I say "violence," as distinguished from such force as a kindly commonsense occasionally uses, not merely in behalf of the common good, but also for the sake of the persons concerned, namely, little children, crazy or intoxicated persons, the cruel and passionate. In all such cases the Golden Rule, while forbidding any show of hostility or the will to inflict punishment, surely requires the most efficient care to prevent a dangerous person from hurting himself or others. I would have no prisons, but I fear we shall need a system of hospitals for cases of moral and social abnormality.

Of course, I am totally opposed to war, and especially to the use of conscription. I do not believe that any friendly and intelligent group of people have any need of soldiery. The war system now in vogue seems itself to be the main cause and occasion for the terror of war, at least in modern times. I should add that I believe in full freedom of trade, travel, and residence.

I have written so much as this because I desire to know how much further your Anarchism proceeds. Thus, while I wish no boundaries to keep men apart, there are certain obvious conveniences in keeping up defined border lines between communities, and holding each grouping or organisation responsible for the local welfare and health. Though I see no great joy in big aggregations of people, there evidently are enterprises of importance—highways and forestry and river flowage, etc.—for which organisation towards a common end seems requisite. An even larger system seems necessary, when we consider the regulation of sea-ports and the lighting of the coasts of a great island or continent, as also the vast system of roads needful for millions of people. There are many things for which a local order of business is called for—of course, by the co-operative will of the people. There are not so many uses for the great order of what is called a "nation," but such as there are seem imperative for the general welfare. Some system of assessment and collection of necessary funds, by means of rentals or somehow, seems to follow. I don't care whether we call this arrangement "government"; it is probably an imperfect word for any civilised method of living together. But "anarchy" is the most misleading of words for naming what I conceive FREEDOM is after. You seek, I assume, the freedom of civilised men, not of barbarians; but the spirit of civilisation respects all such orderly methods (of which roads are a symbol) as promote the largest possible expression of each man's individuality and the fulfilment of his normal life.

Moreover, I see no present reason, after we have removed the crazy burdens of war and tariff taxes, and the privileges which now permit the few to own the natural birthrights of the human race in lands and mines, etc., why we should not at least try the experiment of freedom upon such "capitalism" as may survive these changes of economic environment. I mean that freedom of individual initiative, energy, enterprise and intelligence as appears always hitherto to express itself more abundantly (and with plenty of social overflow and increment) under really free conditions than under any form of prohibition. Give us all proper freedom to move and grow and work, and let such capitalism as may then arise have its chance alongside of the co-operative enterprises, big and little, which would probably cover the larger part of most industries. Capitalism, within normal conditions, is a mode of co-operation, is it not? The element of competition involved in human nature need not be damned as evil. Why not turn it in the direction of usefulness? We have illustrations of the working of this possibility in the conduct of a good many capitalistic businesses.

I believe that good idealism is simply the working plan of practical conduct, and that a satisfying ideal will actually work out better than anything less worthy. I do not neglect the time factor in saying this. But it is grievous to look on and discover groups of bright minds quarrelling so hard over the differences between their ideals as not to be willing, or to see the opportunity, to join hands in building certain preliminary pieces of roadway, very needful for all of us, and upon the necessity of which they do not disagree! Ever so many groups of humane people are set against violence and war. Socialists, Single-Taxers, Communists, Anarchists desire to be rid of land monopoly. Few of us know enough to have thought out in any detail the features of the world which we aim to create. Most of us waste our time in belabouring the present régime—the cheapest of efforts in oratory! Why cannot we travel together, constructing our road-bed as we go along, according to those lines of our several ideals, which begin with a common direction. May be we shall see presently that the ideals themselves, when better understood, tend to coalesce!

Please tell me, and, I may say, many of your readers also, how far you deem it necessary to handicap your splendid movement towards freedom with the prejudices, misunderstandings, and obscurity which render the words "Anarchy," "Anarchism," and "Anarchist" almost fatally unpersuasive and repellent. Do they not becloud your true message? I ask this as one who has been well indurated to the bearing of unpopular names. If the word is the best to carry the truth, I am not afraid of it.—Yours respectfully,

Boston, Mass., U.S.A. CHARLES F. DOLE.

[We do not think very much separates us from Mr. Dole, except that he seems to have an idea that there are a few good things which might be saved from the wreck of Capitalism. Certainly Capitalism is a form of co-operation, but co-operation which is enforced by the fear of starvation. But there are many forms of voluntary co-operation nowadays which exist in spite of Capitalism, and they will continue when that evil is abolished. As the making and upkeep of roads, railways, the sewage system, etc., would be necessary, a sensible people would soon provide ways and means of carrying them on. As for experiments in new economic methods, Anarchists have always favoured them, and we certainly never expected that one economic system would be universal. But anything that savoured of Capitalism, which means exploitation of man by man, would be avoided like the plague. We think the word "Anarchy" fits our ideas like a glove; it comes from the Greek, and means "without Government." Of course, there are many popular prejudices against the name of Anarchist, but we must live them down. Many years ago, when Bernard Shaw proclaimed himself an Anarchist, he dealt with this very question, and wrote:—"Mud is thrown on the name of Anarchist. Then, it will be asked, why offend people's sensibilities with it? Why not drop it? Simply because our enemies know better than to let us drop it. They will take care to keep it fastened tightly upon us; and if we disown it, and yet, when challenged home, cannot deny it, will it not appear that we are ashamed of it; and will not our shame justly condemn us unheard?" We are quite willing to work with other people in building a road to the new society, but we have to be careful that there is not a State prison at the end of the road, as our comrades in Russia found after co-operating with the Bolsheviks. We think that if Mr. Dole will read our literature, especially "Objections to Anarchism," which we have just published, he will find many of his difficulties disappear.—ED. FREEDOM.]

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Anarchism and the World Revolution: An Answer to Robert Minor. By Fred S. Graham. 15c. Published (secretly) in U.S.A.

Anarchist-Communist Manifesto. By Novomirsky. Distributed free. Issued (secretly) by the A.C.G. in U.S.A.

The War for Coal and Iron. By Dorothy Frances Buxton. 4d. London: The Labour Party, 33 Eccleston Square, S.W.1.

Adult Education and the Trade Unionist: Report of the Trade Union Education Enquiry Committee. 4d. London: Caledonian Press, 74 Swinton St., W.C.1.

The Communist Review. No. 4 (August). 6d. London: The Communist Party, 16 King Street, W.C.2.

The Labour Monthly: A Magazine of International Labour. No. 1 (July). 1s. London: The Labour Publishing Company, 6 Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

Labour Booklets: Communism. By Eden and Cedar Paul. 6d.—*The Control of Industry.* By Margaret I. Cole. 6d.—*The Government of Ireland.* By Mrs. J. R. Green. 6d. London: The Labour Publishing Co., 6 Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

Whitherward? Hell or Eutopia? By Victor Branford. London: Williams and Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, W.C.2.

Is there a Cure for Unemployment? By Frederick Verinder. 3d. London: English League for the Taxation of Land Values, 376-7 Strand, W.C.2.

Commnnism and Christianism. By Bishop William M. Brown, D.D. Fourth Edition. 25c. Galion, Ohio, U.S.A.: Bradford-Brown Educational Co.

Industrial Unionism and Revolution. By Phillip Kurinsky. 10c.—*Ethics and Principles of Industrial Unionism.* (In Jewish.) 10c.—*Revolutionary Song Book.* (In Jewish.) 10c.—*What is this Shop Stewards' Movement?* By Tom Walsh. 5c. New York: Modern Press, Box 205, Madison Square.

The Political Gita; or, the Philosophy of Life. By Vadilal Motilal Shah. For free circulation. Ghat-kopar, Bombay: Published by the Author.

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The Shakai-Shugi Kenkyu. Vol. IV., No. 1 (August). Tokyo, Japan: Kin Yamakawa, Araijuka, Omori.

CASH RECEIVED (not otherwise acknowledged).

(August 8 to September 10.)

"FREEDOM" GUARANTEE FUND.

We are pleased to say that money is still coming in very well, but we must have more to enable us to pull through the present economic collapse. There are no signs yet of any break in the clouds. The following sums have been received since our last issue:—L. G. Wolfe £5, A. Corum 3s., W. M. S. 2s., T. S. 5s., Dr. M. A. Cohn £25, A Baker 2s., A. Sanders 4s. 6d., E. W. Lynch 8d., R. J. Davey 6s., G. Robinson 1s., Gateshead Sympathisers £1, J. Freedman 10s., E. R. £1, P. G. 10s., A. D. Moore 2s., E. M. 2s., W. C. O. 10s.

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